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PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL AND HIS POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND COLONIZING WORK

I.

THE crusading and proselytizing sides of the Portuguese expansion both belong to Catholic Christendom and to West European civilization, as a whole; they both appeal to that international side of medieval life which was so long maintained by the international Church. Like his pattern, St. Louis of France, like all the more spiritual leaders of the earlier Crusades, Prince Henry had devoted himself to the service of the great system to which all Roman Christians belonged, and which had both political and ecclesiastical existence.

But this movement involved other objects as well. He was not only a Catholic soldier and a missionary leader; he was also a Portuguese statesman and general, "always devoted to public affairs", steadily aiming at the increase of his country's power and wealth.¹ More than any other man he helped to guide that country towards an imperial position. His friends and followers, and even those who for a time opposed him, came at last, we read, to speak of him as "another Alexander". The first historian of his explorations exultantly doubts whether, since Alexander and Caesar, any prince ever had the signs of his conquest set up so far from his own land. And when one of his captains brings home some of the water of the Senegal, the same note is struck by the later *Chronicle of Guinea*, "I question if Alexander, who was one of the monarchs of the world, ever drank in his day of what was brought him from so far."²

With the Infant's father, Portugal's greatness had really begun; under John I. she had repelled Castilian invasion, created a new navy, and begun her conquests over sea. With the first step in these

¹ "Grande amor ouve sempre aa cousa publica destes regnos." His exertions in campaigning against Islam are treated as an immediate outcome of this patriotic statesmanship, "e assy se deleitava . . . no trabalho das armas, specialmente contra os inimigos da . . . fe". G. E. de Azurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné* (ed. Carreira and Santarem, Paris, 1841), ch. IV., pp. 23-24.

² "Outro Alexandre." *Ibid.*, ch. XVIII., p. 104; "Eu dovido, diz o autor, se depois do grande poderyo de Alexandre e de Cesar, foe algũu principe . . . que tam longe de sua terra mandasse poer os malhoões de sua conquista." *Ibid.*, ch. LXIII., p. 304; "E nom sey se Alexandre, que foe huũ dos monarcas do mundo, bebeo em seus dyas augua . . . de tam longe . . . trazida." *Ibid.*, ch. LXXV., p. 353.

conquests, the storm of Ceuta in 1415, Dom Henrique was closely connected; if we may trust Azurara, the original plan of campaign was largely, the final victory mainly, due to him. Even earlier than this, in the last years of the fourteenth century, King John's war vessels, we have seen, were making descents upon Muhammadan coasts,³ and Henry's work of exploration and conquest is apparently recognized by the founder of the dynasty as a development of his own. To the Infant, as to his father, the defeat of the hereditary foes of Portugal was a sacred and lifelong duty: this may be read in the death-bed exhortation of the first monarch of the House of Aviz.

Dom Henrique then was a leading member of a family which had saved Portugal's independence, and given her peace with honor, self-content and self-respect, good order, comparative prosperity, and the hope of a bright, even brilliant future. Several of his brothers were conspicuous for their gifts, their learning, and their taste; he and they together formed the brilliant group of noble Infants,

"Inclita geração, altos Infantes",

of whom Camoens sings.⁴ No royal race in Christendom guided with greater dignity, with higher culture, with steadier patriotism, the evolution of its people in that age of monarchical revival.

That Prince Henry, the "uncrowned prince", whose court was so far more full of noble vassals than any other, was conscious of his national position; that he, whose palace was such a school of hospitality for all the generous spirits of the realm, played a great part in home politics, in the life of his own country, is clear enough.⁵ His character, the originality of his policy and achievements, give him, especially from the death of John the Great in 1433, a distinct, defined place in the kingdom, parallel to, in a sense independent of, the royal person. His agency is powerful, perhaps decisive, in allaying the dissensions that follow the death of King Edward, and in establishing and maintaining the regency of Dom Pedro, as in overthrowing the same Dom Pedro when in revolt against the crown. As Duke of Viséu and Governor of Algarve,⁶ as a member of the

³ When they visited the northernmost Canaries, apparently before the French expedition of 1402. See Diogo Gomes, *De Prima Inventione Guineae* (ed. Schmeller), p. 34, and the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVI. 13, n. 4.

⁴ *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 50.

⁵ "Mais e melhor gente . . . de sua criação . . . casa . . . huã geeral acolhimento de todollos boôs do regno." Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. IV., p. 20; cf. also p. 23 of the same chronicle, as quoted above.

⁶ Prince Henry was Duke and *Alcaide Mor* of Viséu (see a charter of Afonso V., of April 8, 1439, confirming one of John I., of February 16, 1416:

Council of Regency, which administered affairs in the earlier years of Affonso V., Prince Henry belongs to the general political history of Portugal, just as in his capacity of "Protector of Portuguese Studies" he has his place in the literary and academic history of his country.

But it is of course in relation to foreign politics, outside interests, and the national expansion, that he occupies that distinctive position evidenced by those papal and other documents which couple his name with that of the reigning sovereign. His foreign policy may perhaps be defined as one which aims at detaching Portugal from Spain and Peninsular interests: at making her a world-power on and over seas: and so at gaining for her in colonial fields that importance she could never hope to acquire by influence in Europe. It is through this policy that the little kingdom of the Aviz monarchs becomes for a time one of the first of Christian powers, and is able to "hold the East in fee" far more than Venice had ever done; the task to which Henrique calls his nation proves too heavy for her strength, but apart from it we cannot conceive that the history of Portugal would ever have had more than local significance.⁷

Prince Henry's public career we know opens with the conquest of Ceuta; and the capture of the African Gibraltar is not merely an event of value and meaning for Western Europe and Latin Christendom at large, but a matter of deep importance to Portugal herself. With this begins not only her African crusade, her direct relations with the Muslim states of Barbary; but also her colonial empire, her successful activity over sea.⁸ When the chronicler declares that

Chancelleria de Affonso V., liv. XIX., f. 36); as well as Lord of Covilham (see renewal of this grant by Affonso V., December 4, 1449; *Misticos*, III., f. 130); of Balea and the Berlengas (*Misticos*, IV., f. 22); of Lafoens, Besteiros, Linhares, etc. (*Chanc. Affonso V.*, liv. XIX., f. 70 v., a renewal of a grant of John I.); of Tras Falmenar (*Misticos*, II., f. 201 v.); and of other lands and towns which supplied him with immense resources.

⁷ Only through this could a Portuguese monarch ever have been addressed, as Camoens addresses Dom Sebastian, the last king of Portugal's great age, as lord of an empire over which the sun never set:

"Cujo alto imperio

"O Sol logo em nascendo ve primeiro:

"Veio tambem no meyo do Hemispherio,

"E quando desce o deixa derradeiro."

Os Lusíadas, I. viii.

". . . O'er whose high domain

"The rising sun his earliest ray doth cast,

"Sees it in middle hemisphere again,

"And at his setting moment leaves it last."

⁸ On the value of Ceuta, see Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. v., p. 25, "Pois do proveito que a terra recebeo, o levante e o poente som . . . testemunha, quando os seus moradores podem comudar suas cousas, sem . . . perigoo, . . . nom se pode negar que . . . Cepta nom seja chave de todo o mar Medyotterreno."

Henrique was the first royal captain who landed by the walls of Ceuta, and that his square banner was the first that entered its gates, he claims for his hero a decisive part in a great political conquest as well as in a crusading victory.⁹ For *Septa* is not bestowed upon any free-lance of Christian chivalry, like the Syrian conquests of earlier time; it is held by the crown of Portugal for the nation whose blood and treasure had won it. And with this holding the Infant is specially connected. He governed Ceuta, says the *Chronicle of Guinea*, in the names of three successive kings, his father, his brother, and his nephew, for five and thirty years;¹⁰ it was for Portugal as well as for Christendom that he saved this stronghold from the Muslim attack of 1418, and from the suggestions of surrender in 1437-1438.

Again, the Infant's navy, the "armed ships which he kept at sea to guard against the Infidels" from the time of the Ceuta conquest, was of course a national as well as a crusading force, and played a valuable part in political and economic defense. For these war vessels checked the activity of those Muslim corsairs who in earlier centuries had sometimes paralyzed all Christian commerce, and made their descents upon every Christian coast, from the Bosphorus to Corunna. They kept in security, says Azurara proudly, all the shores of our Spain and most of the merchants who traded between East and West.¹¹ To the end of his life Dom Henrique worked for the "honor of the kingdom" as well as the "exaltation of the Faith"; that national honor he was constantly increasing in the view of his countrymen, by the subjugation of "so great and so distant a power of enemies"; and in this cause, as men knew, it was his wish to end his days.¹²

The charters which confer upon Prince Henry the islands of the Madeira group with their revenues and jurisdiction;¹³ which give him license to colonize the Azores;¹⁴ which forbid any Portuguese

⁹ "Primeiro capitam real que filhou terra acerca dos muros . . . sua bandeira quadrada a primeira que entrou pellas portas." Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. v., p. 26.

¹⁰ "Gouvernou . . . per mandado dos reis seu padre e irmão e sobrinho, XXXV annos." *Ibid.*, ch. v., pp. 28-29.

¹¹ These "navyos armados", maintained "contra os infiees . . . depois que a dicta cidade foe tomada . . . fezerom muy grande destroyçam . . . daalem e daaquem, de guisa que o seu temor poinha em segurança todallas terras vezinhas . . . e . . . a mayor parte dos mercadores que traotavam do levante para o poente." *Ibid.*, ch. v., pp. 29-30.

¹² "Trabalhando . . . por honra do regno, e eixaçamento da sêta fe . . . em este processo desejou sempre acabar sua vida." *Ibid.*, ch. v., p. 32.

¹³ See Chanc. D. Duarte, liv. I., f. 18 v. (September 26, 1433); *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas*, p. 2.

¹⁴ See Chanc. Affonso V., liv. XIX., f. 14 (June 2, 1439); *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 6-7.

to visit any of the Canaries¹⁵ and direct that no person whatever shall sail to the lands beyond Cape Bojador¹⁶ without his license; which exempt him and his colonists in the Madeiras from the payment of various customary dues;¹⁷ which allow him to take timber from the royal pine-forests;¹⁸ and which confer upon him the royal fifth in prizes taken by his ships, or the royal dues on merchandise from certain regions of the Atlantic coast of Africa;¹⁹ are all evidence of the political aspect of the prince's explorations. Equally explicit is the deed of grant by which the Infant in his last days presents to the crown of Portugal the temporalities of the Cape Verde Islands,²⁰ just discovered. And most instructive perhaps of all documents, in this sense, is the bull of Nicolas V., prohibiting all Christians from intruding into the African discoveries and conquests of Prince Henry and King Affonso V., without the permission of the King of Portugal, and declaring all this conquest, from Capes Non and Bojador towards the south, to belong of right to the said King Affonso and Prince Henry, and to no others.²¹

II.

The mercantile side of history has often been treated with the contempt, more often with the indifference, of ignorance. Yet nothing has been more efficient in aiding human progress than trade-activity. No form of man's energy has done more to link together distant and diverse races, to bring about the discovery of the earth, to promote truly useful knowledge, to "clear the mind of cant", to break down the obstacles, both mental and physical, which once hemmed in mankind and separated its lands and peoples from one another.

Now we may admit that the rhapsody of Thomson's *Seasons*²² upon

¹⁵ Chanc. Aff. V., liv. V., f. 17 v. (February 3, 1446); *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶ Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XXIV., f. 61 (October 22, 1443); *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁷ Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XIX., f. 19 (reissue of a charter of King Edward's).

¹⁸ Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XIX., f. 17 v. (June 1, 1439).

¹⁹ Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XIX., f. 19 (reissue of a charter of King Edward's).

²⁰ Livro das Escripturas da Ordem de Christo (Coll. de Dr. Pedralvares), f. 11 (September 18, 1460); *Alguns Documentos*, p. 27.

²¹ "Ipsam conquestam . . . a capitibus de Bojador et de Nam usque per totam Guineam et ultra versus . . . meridionalem plagam . . . declaramus ad Alfonsum Regem et successores . . . ac infantem, et non ad aliquos alios spectasse et pertinuisse ac in perpetuum spectare et pertinere de jure." From the bull *Romanus Pontifex*, issued from Rome, January 8, 1454; see Coll. de Bullas, maço 7, no. 29; *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 14-20, and esp. p. 17.

²² Thomson, *The Seasons*, "Summer", II., ll. 1010-1012.

“The Lusitanian prince, who, Heaven-inspir’d,
To love of useful glory rous’d mankind,
And in unbounded commerce mix’d the world,”

is the hyperbole of a poet, just as Azurara’s “Prince little less than divine” is the hyperbole of a rhetorician and a courtier. But the more closely we examine the Infant’s work, the more clearly apparent is its intimate connection, not only with crusading and patriotic conceptions and ambitions, but also with commercial interests. Like earlier explorers of the Western Ocean—the Genoese of 1291, who began the search for India by the ocean waterway round Africa, “that they might bring back useful merchandise”, or the Catalans of 1346 who started to find the River of Gold²³—Dom Henrique, especially in his later years, aimed at the opening of a wider field for his country’s trade. Azurara’s own interest really begins to flag when the conquering and crusading activity of earlier time is so largely replaced by commerce and peaceful intercourse. Although he intends, while ending the *Chronicle of Guinea* in 1448, to supply us with another history which should reach to the end of the Infant’s life, he seems never to have fulfilled this promise, and the prospect of such a task appears to excite in his mind but a lukewarm enthusiasm. “The matters that follow were not accomplished with such labor and bravery as in the past; for from this year the affairs of these parts were treated more by trafficking of merchants than by valor and toil in arms.”²⁴ Yet Azurara, honestly struggling, with all his imperfection of insight and limitation of sympathy, to give us a true picture of the great movement which he traces, does not forget to include commercial aims—the importation of “Guinea” merchandise into Portugal, the exportation of Portuguese goods to “Guinea”—among the original reasons of the Infant’s explorations.²⁵ Dom Henrique had ordered the quest for Guinea, not only

²³ See *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III. 413-420; 429-430.

²⁴ “Com entençom de fazermos outro livro que chegue ataa fim dos feitos do Iffante, ainda que as cousas seguintes nom foram traudas com tanto trabalho e fortelleza como as passadas, ca depois deste anno avante, sempre se os feitos daquellas partes trautarom mais per trautos e aveenças de mercadarya, que per fortelleza nem trabalho das armas.” Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xcvi., p. 456.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. vii., p. 46. Gomez, again, makes Dom Henrique hear, at the very beginning of his enterprise, of the “passage” of Tunis caravans and camels to Timbuktu and Cantor, for the “Arabian gold” there found abundantly, and in consequence of this information send out Gouzalo Velho in 1416 to examine these lands by the maritime route in order to have trade with them.

Hieronimus Munzer (in 1494) adds that Henry, learning how much gold the King of Tunis got every year, sent two expeditions to Tunis, and having found how the King of Tunis sent merchandise over the Atlas ranges into “Southern Ethiopia”, and so obtained gold and slaves, tried to do by sea this very thing

to find out the power of the Moors in Africa, to discover Christian allies against Islam, and to spread the Faith of Christ, but also to "join East with West, that nations might learn to exchange their riches".²⁶ More narrowly, modestly, and as the first step in his advance, he endeavored to discover in those lands beyond Bojador the safe harbors of Christian people into which his ships might sail, with which the Portuguese might trade. No other merchants, as he believed, had yet penetrated to those regions, and thus the wares of Portugal would find the readier market, and Portuguese traffickers the greater gain.²⁷

Once more, in the building of "His Town", the "Infant's Town", by Cape St. Vincent, at a point "where Ocean and Mediterranean might be said to meet", Prince Henry especially aimed at the creation of a great commercial port, a rival to Cadiz, where all ships passing from East to West might get provisions and pilots.²⁸

Again, as the Portuguese intercourse develops with the African mainland beyond Cape Bojador, and as Portuguese colonization progresses in the Atlantic islands, we find more attention paid to the development of trade, and we see the Infant becoming more watchful of his duties and his interests as guardian and director of this trade. Thus, even in 1433, we find him not only securing from his brother King Edward exemption from the customary payment of the royal fifth upon the prizes made by his war-ships, but also procuring the assignment to himself of the whole revenue of the Madeiras, a group he had begun to colonize eight years before, and at whose settlement which for so many years had been performed by land. See Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 19; AM. HIST. REV., XVI. 11; Fr. Kunstmann, *H. Munzer's Bericht über die Entdeckung Guineas* (Munich, 1854), p. 60.

²⁶ "Tu per continuadas passagees fizeste ajuntar o levante com o poente, por que as gentes aprendessem a comudar as riquezas." Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. VI., p. 41.

²⁷ "Que achandosse em aquellas terras" . . . (*i. e.*, beyond Bojador and the Canaries, see *ibid.*, p. 44) "alguus taes portos, em que sem perigoo podessem navegar, que se poderyam pera estes regnos (*i. e.*, Portugal) trazer . . . mercadaryas . . . de boõ mercado . . . pois com elles nom tratavam outras persoas . . . e que . . . levaryam pera lá das que em estes regnos (Portugal) ouvesse." *Ibid.*, ch. VII., p. 46.

²⁸ "Naquella honrada villa que . . . mandou fazer ao cabo de sam Vicente . . . onde se combatem ambolos mares, . . . o grande mar Occiano, com o mar Medyoterreno . . . querya ally fazer hũa villa especyal pera trato de mercadores, e porque todollos navyos que atravessassem do levante pera o poente, podessem ally fazer devisa, e achar mantiimento e pillotos, assy como fazem em Callez." *Ibid.*, ch. v., pp. 33-34.

The tradition ("ouvý dizer", says Azurara, *Guinea*, p. 34) that the Genoese had offered to buy the site of the Villa do Ifante for a large sum when the city was begun by Dom Henrique is rightly regarded by the historian as proof of the great commercial possibilities of the position; the Genoese did not usually spend money, as he says, without a good hope of return.

he was now steadily working.²⁹ And again in 1438, at a time when the exploration movement was still criticized as materially unprofitable, and was still proclaimed before everything else as a Crusade, Pope Eugenius IV., who twenty months before had summoned all the princes of Christendom to aid the Portuguese in the Sacred War, now permits these very Portuguese to trade with the Moors of Africa in all merchandise except the iron, timber, and other material of war or shipbuilding usually excepted from any such permission.³⁰

But it is of course with the events of 1441-1442, with the arrival of the first slaves and gold dust from Guinea, that the question of African commerce assumes real importance; that the opposition to the Infant's policy is converted into cordial support or grudging assent ("men with soft voices praising what they had publicly decried");³¹ and that Portugal as a nation becomes interested in the discovery and exploitation of the *terra incognita*. It is now therefore when men had begun to learn "how they could make profit" from the new land,³² that Dom Henrique obtains his decree of monopoly from the Portuguese government, forbidding any one to go to the country beyond Bojador either for war or traffic without his license, and conceding to him the customary fifth and tenth upon all goods brought from these regions in his ships.³³ Still more important trade-developments were soon to follow. The fort and factory commenced on Arguim Island in 1445, and the first exploration of the Sahara interior by João Fernandes about the same time, seem to be both symbols and causes of a momentous change of policy. It is now, as Gomes points out, that Prince Henry abandons the attitude of a mere crusader in Guinea, a Christian conqueror and exterminator of infidels, and begins to insist on ideals of peace, friendship, trade, and conversion. Henceforward his men were not to make strife, but to treat of merchandise.³⁴

²⁹ Chanc. D. Duarte, liv. I., f. 18; *Alguns Documentos*, p. 2 (September 26, 1433); see above. By another charter of the same date (same references), the crown reserves to itself the tenth of the produce of the Madeira fisheries.

³⁰ This is the bull *Praeclaris tuae*, issued by Eugenius IV. from Bologna, May 25, 1438, and addressed to King Edward; see Coll. de Bullas, maço 4, no. 5, and summary in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 5.

³¹ "Com vozes baixas louvavom o que ante publicamente doestavam." Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xviii., p. 104.

³² "O Iffante . . . dando caminho a as gentes como aproveitassem a terra." *Ibid.*, ch. xviii., pp. 103-104.

³³ Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XXIV., f. 61; *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 8-9 (October 22, 1443; from Penela, see above). This is the charter noticed by Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xv., p. 92, "O Iffante dom Pedro, que . . . regya . . . em nome delRey, deu ao Iffante . . . carta, per que ouvesse toda o quinto que a elRey perteeçia . . . lhe outorgou mais, que nhũu nom podesse la ir sem sua licença e especial mandado."

³⁴ "Quod non facerent litem . . . sed ut . . . tractarent mercimonia quia intentio sua erat ipsos facere Christianos." Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 23.

To the Arguim factory where something of a colony seems to have been planted, with a chaplain who is probably a missionary also, a considerable native trade in slaves and gold soon flows in.³⁵ Till the establishment of El Mina, almost forty years later, and within a short time of the discovery of the Cape, this foundation of the Infant's remains one of the two chief centres for the West African trade of Europe.³⁶

João Fernandes, in his voluntary seven-months residence among the tribes of the Western Sahara, appears to mark the commencement, not only of modern Christian intercourse with the African interior, but also of a higher European feeling towards the African native, moved by the primal passions of mankind to such a love of the Portuguese pioneer, so completely in their power.³⁷ From his savage friends Fernandes appears to have gained an excellent knowledge of the markets, trade-routes, and chief articles of commerce in this part of the continent, and it is mainly through him that so flourishing a traffic is established between the Portuguese and the tribes of the desert, a commerce which is the first step on the road to Timbuktu, and the first stage in the mercantile relations of Europe with extra-Mediterranean Africa.³⁸

And now we begin to hear of Prince Henry's factors keeping record of all the receipts and expenses of this Moorish or Sahara traffic, and of the regular resort of Portuguese fisher-folk to the waters of this coast; we begin also to have minute and systematic trade-reports, not merely upon the desert shore-lands, but upon large districts of the Sudan as well.³⁹ The most ambitious, picturesque,

³⁵ A certain trade in cotton may also have existed. Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. lv., p. 256, mentions the cotton trees of Tider ("arvores dalgodom, ainda que muitas nom fosse").

³⁶ The other was at the mouth of the Senegal.

³⁷ "Somos todos filhos de Adam, compostos de huũ meemos ellamentos . . . todos recebemos alma come criaturas razoavees." Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xxxv., p. 174; "Por estes primeiros padecimentos . . . se moverom aquelles a afeição de Joham Frrž." *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. xxxv., pp. 176-178; chs. lxxvii.-lxxviii., pp. 364-372; ch. xciii., pp. 437-438. The average of profit was 17 for one, or 1,700 per cent. ("Perche di un soldo ne facevano sette e dieci.") The business arrangement of Dom Henrique with adventurers such as Ca da Mosto was as follows: If the venturer furnished his own ship and cargo, he must pay the prince one-quarter of the profits. If the prince furnished ship and cargo, he received half the gain, bearing the whole loss, if the voyage failed. "Navigationi di Messer Alvise da Ca da Mosto", in Ramusio, *Navigationi*, (Venice, 1563) I. 97; in Jean Temporal's version, *Description de l'Afrique* (ed. Schefer, Paris, 1895), p. 1. Also see E. G. Bourne, "Prince Henry, the Navigator", in *Yale Review*, III, 201.

³⁹ The first of these of any importance (relating to the West Sahara tribes) is that of João Fernandes himself; see Azurara, *Guinea*, chs. lxxvii.-lxxviii., pp. 364-372. On the development of trade with the Moors in 1446-1448, see *ibid.*, chs. lxxxix.-xciii., pp. 419-440 (e. g., "Joham Gorizo . . . levava carrego de screver todallas receitas e despezas dos Mourosi". p. 419).

and valuable of these reports is given us by the Venetian merchant, Alvise Ca da Mosto, voyaging, as we know, in the service of the Infant. His work is avowedly the production of one whose main object was the pursuit of wealth, and who was attracted to the flag of Dom Henrique by the hope of extraordinary profit.⁴⁰ It relates therefore, as we might expect, primarily to mercantile affairs. It is the earliest European handbook of West African or "Guinea" commerce. Beginning with a charming and vivid account of the Portuguese colonies in the Madeira group, and especially of their trade, the Venetian passes on to delineate in great detail the new Christian intercourse with the African ocean coast and upland both north and south of Senegal, and the conditions of life and commerce among the natives themselves, Moorish and negro.⁴¹ He pays particular attention to the mercantile relations of the Arguim factory, but he does not forget to refer to the more distant interior, as far as Timbuktu, and to outline the course of traffic between the markets of the African Mediterranean, of the Western Sahara, and of Negroland itself—a traffic which brought the silken fabrics of Tunis and Granada far into the countries of the heathen blacks.⁴² Everywhere the narrative is remarkable for its close observation and careful description of all matters even remotely connected with European trade-interests in the regions visited.

From Ca da Mosto's pages the worldly wisdom of Dom Henrique's new commercial policy is sufficiently evident; the Arguim trade alone now yielded annually to the regular Portuguese traders holding license from the prince, without reckoning interlopers, as many slaves as the whole of the first seven years of raiding.⁴³

Of the Negro World beyond the Senegal, its agriculture and domestic economy, the dress of its people, the products of its land, its actual trade, its strange custom of dumb barter, the possibilities of its future commerce (as in the iron which the natives could not work), Ca da Mosto tries to give his readers a complete and accurate conception. Nothing is neglected which could be of interest or value to the Christian merchant—the salt of the Cape Verde Islands; the exact price of civet; the abundance of cotton, the scarcity

⁴⁰ Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 97, C, "sperando . . . di douerne conseguire . . . utile . . . informatomi delle mercatantie e cose che vi erano necessarie" is expanded in Temporal's version (ed. Schefer), p. 18. "L'esperance du gain . . . my eguillonnoyt merueilleusement," etc.

⁴¹ In Ramusio, I. 97, E-98, B; 98, F etc.; in Jean Temporal's version (Lyons, 1556), I. 402-404, 408, etc.; (ed. Schefer), pp. 21-29, 38, etc.

⁴² In Ramusio, I. 99, B-E; 100, A-C; 104, E-F; 105, A; 108, D-E; in Temporal (ed. Lyons), I. 409-410, 412-413, 415, 432, 446-447, etc.

⁴³ "In modo che ogni anno si trazze d'Argin per Portogallo da settecento in ottocento teste." Ramusio, I. 99, D.

of gold, in the Gambia valley; the palm wine, oil, and millet, and even the valuable parrots, of the Senegal.⁴⁴ Everywhere, in obedience to his instructions, he endeavors to avoid conflict, not always with success, in the face of truculent natives; his object, his commission (he never forgets) is to establish commerce, and so to pave the way for conversion.

It is curious to note that even in the Gambia basin he finds a still earlier Italian visitor, a Genoese analogue in the fifteenth century to the ubiquitous Scotchman whom every explorer of the nineteenth is fabled to have found before him, selling something; he impressed Ca da Mosto as highly trustworthy, but may we not guess that the thrilling serpent stories which the Venetian repeats were really intended to discourage a rival trader?⁴⁵

Again, Diogo Gomes, the Portuguese, though commissioned primarily to explore, and if possible to reach the Indies, on his first voyage of 1456, falls back upon trade when his India-ward course is checked by the currents beyond Rio Grande. Like Ca da Mosto, and perhaps even more successfully, he opens trade with the natives of the Gambia, and brings home abundant and confused information of Timbuktu and other inland markets, and of the gold mines of Negro-land. He makes it his business to inquire the way to these gold-bearing regions of the Sudan; he notices himself how natives loaded with gold were constantly to be seen moving about the country; he is careful to conclude formal treaties of commerce with negro chiefs.⁴⁶ Incidentally he tells us of Dom Henrique's correspondence with a merchant of Oran in Muhammadan Algeria, and of the reports furnished to the Infant by this trader (whether Muslim or Christian we cannot say) upon the relations of negro states in the heart of West Africa. These reports Gomes declares agreed closely with his own in the matters for which he refers to them; whether agreeing or divergent, they are surely suggestive of the careful search for truth, the wide outlook, the varied information, of a real statesman; above all they illustrate once more the value of trade and traders to that movement of European expansion whose permanent success begins with the work of Prince Henry of Portugal.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 100, B-C; 101, F; 103, D, F; 104, A-F; 105, A; 108, D-E; 109, A-D; and in Temporal (ed. Lyons), I. 413-414, 419-420, 427-428, 429-431, 431-432, 446-447, 449-450.

⁴⁵ On this "Genouese huomo degno di fede" see Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 104, A-C.

⁴⁶ See Gomes (ed. Schmeller), "inivimus pacem", p. 26, foot-note; "pace facta cum istis de Cantor", p. 28; "multum laboravi facere pacem", p. 29; "amicitiam maximam factam inter me et illum", p. 30; "melius esset facere pacem", p. 31, E.

⁴⁷ See Gomes, pp. 27-28, on this correspondent of the prince's ("quidam mercator in Oran") and his information.

III.

Nowhere perhaps is Dom Henrique more clearly a pioneer of the modern world than in colonization. Under his leadership the Portuguese commence the earliest of modern European colonial empires (even if it is not quite the earliest of modern European colonial experiments), and Prince Henry's rediscoveries in the Atlantic are, from the first, accompanied by this element of permanent Christian settlement, in contrast to almost all previous enterprise in these waters. The Genoese of Lanzarote Malocello and the French of Gadifer and Béthencourt are almost the only parallels here.

On this point again the *Chronicle of Guinea*, beneath all the disguise of its rhetoric and imagery, accurately seizes the essential fact. Thus in that remarkable visionary proem whereby the life-work of the hero is brought before us in a series of pictures, we have, in a manner foreign enough to modern scientific method, the suggestion of the same truth which modern research endeavors to elucidate. "I had already made an end, had I not described a multitude of lofty sails, bearing along a fleet of vessels laden from the islands thou didst people in the great sea of ocean." Then, feigning to be transported to these islands beyond the waters, and especially to Madeira, the historian tells us something of their beauty and prosperity, their irrigation, agriculture and pasturage, their cattle-stalls, bee-hives, and sugar-plantations, and celebrates above all the lofty timbered houses of the colonists, to whom he pretends to listen as they praise their founder. Had the folk of the Algarve, the backward southern province, ever known abundance of bread until the Infant peopled the uninhabited isles where no dwellings had been save those of wild beasts? Was not store of wheat, timber, sugar-cane, wax and honey, now sent from these colonies to Portugal and every country?⁴⁸

A respectable amount of material exists, mostly still unpublished, in the National Archives of Portugal, in relation to Prince Henry's commercial interests and resources. Thus, *e. g.*, King John grants him the foundation and control of a free fair in Thomar (April 13, 1421; Chanc. João I., liv. IV., f. 19); King Edward and King Afonso similar privileges in fairs established at Tarouca (August 26, 1435; Chanc. Duarte, liv. I., f. 162 v.; and Misticos, liv. IV., f. 44 v.); at Pombal (May 4, 1442; Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XXXV., f. 100 v.); at Viseu (January 13, 1449; Misticos, II., f. 35). To these grants add the monopoly of the tunny and coral fishery off the Algarve, the southernmost coast of Portugal (Chanc. Duarte, liv. I., f. 18; Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XIX., f. 18 v.); the monopoly of the manufacture and sale of soap in Portugal (Chanc. Duarte, liv. I., f. 18; Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XIX., f. 17); a similar monopoly of dye (Chanc. Aff. V., liv. V., f. 18); and the monopoly of the coral fishery (Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XXXIV., f. 202 v.). All these charters I examined in the spring of 1909.

⁴⁸ "Ja quisera fazer fim . . . se nom vira viir a multidom dos navyos com as vellas altas, carregados das ishas que tu povoraste no grande mar Oceyano

In less poetic language, but with a better supply of practical illustration, we shall find the chief historians of Henrique's later years describing the steady growth of the Madeira settlements, and their excellent prospects at the time of the birth of Columbus (c. 1451).

It is in 1425, seven years after his earliest successes in oceanic discovery, five years after the full recovery of Madeira to European knowledge, that Dom Henrique begins his colonial experiment⁴⁹ with the settlement of Funchal, the "Place of Fennel". From this time we possess fairly continuous material for the history of this enterprise, here and elsewhere. In 1433, as we have seen, King Edward bestows upon his brother, as an accession gift, the whole of the Madeira group "which the said Lord Infant is now colonizing".⁵⁰ In 1439 we have still more important legislation. For one thing, the colonists of the Madeiras are exempted from the hitherto customary payment of a tenth on their exports to the home kingdom; for another, and this is of special interest, license is now given to people the Seven Islands of the Azores, to which the prince had already sent over live stock, and which he desired to colonize.⁵¹ This license is renewed in exactly similar terms, after ten years, in 1449. In the interval between these two decrees, as we learn from other Azorean documents of 1443 and 1447, which impose definite payments upon the colonists, the actual settlement of these Western Islands must have begun.⁵²

. . . mostraromme . . . abogoaryas . . . filhas das colmeas . . . alturas das casas, que se . . . fazem com a madeira daquellas partes." Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. 11, p. 14.

⁴⁹ This point is quite decided by the prince's charter of September 18, 1460 (from *Livro das Escript. d. Ord. de Christo*, vol. III., f. 7 v., Coll. de Dr. Pedralvares); summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 26; "Comecei de povoar a minha ilha da Madeira avera ora trinta e cinco annos, e isso mesmo a do Porto Santo e deshi . . . a Deserta, das quaes ilhas . . . edifiquei e novamente achei."

⁵⁰ Chanc. Duarte, liv. I., f. 18; *Alguns Documentos*, p. 2. Two charters issued from Cintra, September 26, 1433.

⁵¹ (A) Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XIX., f. 17 v.; *Alguns Documentos*, p. 6; charter issued June 1, 1439, from Almadaa. (B) Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XIX., f. 14; *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 6-7, and *Archivo dos Açores*, I. 5; charter issued from Lisbon, July 2, 1439, "D. Henrique . . . enviou dizer que elle mandara lançar ovelhas nas sete ilhas dos Açores e que se nos aprouvesse que as mandaria povoar."

⁵² The renewal charter of 1449 (dated from Santarem, March 10) is, in manuscript, in the Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XX., f. 37 v., and in *Místicos II.*, f. 36 v.; in print, in *Arch. d. Açores*, I. 7-8. But the Azorean charters of 1443 and 1447 tax Azorean colonists: (A) issued from Lisbon, April 5, 1443, orders all these settlers to pay tithe for five years, and is addressed "a Goncalo Velho, commendador das ilhas dos Açores, e a todos os povoadores que estam e vivem nas ditas ilhas, da feitura desta nossa carta até cinco annos . . . pelo do Infante D. Henrique"; see Chanc. Aff. V., liv. XXVIII., f. 107 v.; *Arch. d. Açores*, I. 5-6; (B) issued from Lisbon, April 20, 1447, orders the colonists in St. Michael to pay tithe on all the "generos" produced in this island; *Livro das Ilhas*, f. 26 v.; *Místicos*, II. 196 v.; *Arch. d. Açores*, I. 6-7.

The first known examples of official papers from Henrique's chancery, signed by himself (of 1430 and 1440) refer to colonization; the first of these regulates the settlement of Madeira, the second bestows a part of the island upon the famous Tristão Vaz Teixeira, one of the first discoverers and settlers of the Woodland Isle.⁵³ And few of the Infant's charters are of greater interest than that whereby the prince in 1446 bestows Porto Santo upon Bartholomeu Perestrello, the father-in-law of Christopher Columbus.⁵⁴

In the last decade of Prince Henry's life Portuguese colonizing ambition had reached the extreme west of the Azores, for in 1453 we find the crown granting the still uninhabited Corvo to the Duke of Braganza.⁵⁵ Just before the Infant's death it had begun to touch the new-found archipelago of the Cape Verdes, for one of the latest of the Infant's charters bestows the temporalities of these islands upon the King of Portugal, and their spiritualities upon the Order of Christ.⁵⁶ But it is only in the Madeira group that we have the material for any real picture, even in outline, of the European settlement accomplished under the Infant's inspiration and control; here fortunately all our chief authorities unite to help us.

Whether Dom Henrique did or did not institute family registers for his colonists in the Madeiras; whether the first children born to the European settlers in this new land, reflecting the wonder of men beginning human life afresh in a strange world, were named Adam and Eve; whether the fire that wasted the forests of Madeira so cruelly in the days of the first plantation could in any sense be made to last, as a contemporary declares, for nine full years; the steady progress of the prince's settlement is here sufficiently proved by an unusually full and satisfactory concordance of authorities.⁵⁷ By the end of the Infant's life the colonists of Madeira are estimated by thousands, able to furnish an army of a hundred horse and seven hundred foot.⁵⁸ From a soil of marvellous fertility, "like a garden", which at first had yielded up to sixty-fold, a splendid harvest

⁵³ See A. Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana*, bk. III., ch. xv., on the charter of 1430. That of 1440, issued from Santarem, May 8, is in *Livro das Ilhas*, f. 21; *Alguns Documentos*, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *Chanc. Aff. V.*, liv. XXXIII., f. 85; *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 10-11; charter issued from the "Infant's Town" (Minha Villa), November 1, 1446.

⁵⁵ *Chanc. Aff. V.*, liv., III., f. 2, and *Misticos*, liv. III., f. 69; *Arch. d. Açores*, I., 9: charter issued from Evora, January 8, 1453.

⁵⁶ *Livro das Escripturas da Ordem de Christo* (Pedralvares), f. 11; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 27; charter issued from the "Infant's Town" (Minha Villa), September 18, 1460.

⁵⁷ On the Madeira fire, see Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 38; Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 97, F.; on the Madeira family registers and Adam and Eve, see the information supplied by the Count of Rilvas to R. H. Major (*Henry the Navigator*, 1868), p. 73, and Antonio Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana*, bk. III., cap. xv.

⁵⁸ Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 97, F.

of many thousand bushels was reaped year by year; it was no wonder that the beginnings of a great export trade in grain were already to be noted.⁵⁹ Saw-mills had been erected on the streams of the island; a prominent colonist, famous for his ventures into the Atlantic, contracts (in 1452) to build a water-mill for the manufacture of cane-sugar.⁶⁰ As to the timber of Madeira, from which the land was named, its mercantile value was already considerable; furniture was now exported, especially tables and boxes, made of red yew and fragrant cypress-like cedar, producing in Portugal a revolution in the style of domestic architecture.⁶¹ Sugar-cane, originally imported from Sicily, was another useful asset for which the planters found a market both in Eastern and Western countries; but the vines, and especially the Malvoisie or Malmsey, transplanted with brilliant success from Crete, and producing "well nigh as many grapes as leaves", were the most remarkable, precious, and beautiful product of the new Madeira.⁶²

In the Azores, where colonization had begun later,⁶³ and had apparently proceeded more slowly, material progress had naturally been less marked, although the cattle, swine, sheep, and corn of St. Michael's were all exported to the home-kingdom before many years had passed, while its sugar produce was sufficiently respectable to form a special item in a bequest of Dom Henrique to the Order of Christ.⁶⁴ But the enterprise of planting a European settlement in these Western lands,⁶⁵ lying so far out in the ocean, nine hundred miles from Finisterre, one-third of the distance from Spain to Florida, was a bolder and more difficult matter than the colonization of the Madeiras and Canaries or even of the Cape Verdes. It was almost a foretaste of the colonization of America when Dom Hen-

⁵⁹ Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 97, F; Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 39.

⁶⁰ Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 97, F; Gaspar Fructuoso, *Saudades de Terra* (ed. Azevedo, 1873), pp. 65, 113, 665; O. Martins, *Os Filhos de D. João I.*, pp. 80, 258.

⁶¹ Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 97, F-98, A; Gomes (ed. Schmeller), pp. 38-39; Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. II., p. 14.

⁶² *Ibid.*, chs. v., LXXXIII., pp. 30, 390-391; Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, I. 98, A; Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 39.

⁶³ Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. LXXXIII., p. 389, makes the colonization of the Azores begin in 1445, while that of Madeira he commences in 1420 (*Guinea*, p. 388); both dates are inaccurate, as we have seen.

⁶⁴ The cattle, corn, and sugar of St. Michael's are noticed by Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 40. "Porcos, vaccas, oves, de quibus maxima multitudo . . . ad Portugaliã deducunt omni anno. Similiter . . . de tritico . . . tanta copia, ut omnibus annis naves . . . triticum in Portugaliã ducunt." On the sugar bequest ("da . . . Sam Miguel . . . ameetade dos açucaraes"), see Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. LXXXIII., p. 391.

⁶⁵ Prince Henry was fortified, Gomes declares (p. 41), by a papal grant of a more ample nature than we possess as to the Atlantic Islands. "Eugenius papa . . . fecit mentionem, quod omnes insulae inventae in . . . Oceano essent Domini Infantis et Ordinis Christi."

rique, perhaps in 1439, certainly by 1443, sent out his people, with their seed-corn, their live stock, and their German horses,⁶⁶ to plant a new Portugal, a new outpost of Christian Europe, in so distant a corner of the waste of waters, hitherto inhabited only by wild birds, and especially by the hawks and kites⁶⁷ from which the group now took its name.

It is evident from Prince Henry's will, executed in the autumn of 1460, a few days before his death, that European colonization had already penetrated to the remotest of the Azores, for what else can be meant by the Infant's reference to his foundation of churches in Corvo, Flores, Fayal, Pico, and St. George, as well as in the better-known, more important, and more accessible Terceira, St. Michael, and St. Mary?⁶⁸ And an additional fact which apparently emerges from the very imperfect, and partly vitiated, evidence at our disposal, that the Infant employed certain Flemings in his service in the work of Azorean plantation, forms another and a remarkable example of the international character of the prince's policy and action, even in prosecuting a national undertaking.⁶⁹

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⁶⁶ "Multos trotones equos de Alemania." Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 41.

⁶⁷ "Astures seu Açores." *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶⁸ For this "testamento", made October 13, 1460, see *Arch. d. Açores*, I, 331-336, and esp. p. 334, and Sousa Holstein, *A Escola de Sagres*, p. 81-86, and esp. p. 84: "Ordenei e estabeleci a igreja de S. Luis na ilha da S. Luis, e a igreja de S. Diniz na ilha de S. Diniz, e . . . de S. Jorge na ilha de S. Jorge, e de . . . S. Thomaz na ilha de S. Thomaz, e de . . . S^a. Eiria na ilha de Santa Eiria . . . de Jesu Christo na ilha de Jesu Christo, e outra igreja na ilha Graciosa. Item ordenei e estabeleci a igreja de sao Miguel na ilha de sao Miguel; e a igreja de Santa Maria na ilha de Santa Maria." From certain leading maps of this time and especially that of Christofalo Soligo (c. 1455?) it appears evident that the island of St. Luis is Pico; St. Diniz, Fayal; St. Thomaz, Flores; St. Eiria, Corvo. The Island of Jesus Christ is of course Terceira; Graciosa, St. George; St. Michael and St. Mary still keep the same names.

⁶⁹ On the Flemings in the Azores, see Jules Mees, *Découverte des Iles Açores*, pt. II., passim, and esp. pp. 109-117. Antonio Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana*, deals with this question with equal length and inaccuracy (so also G. Fructuoso, *Saudades de Terra*); he gives the professed copy of a charter by which Prince Henry on March 2, 1450, gave the captaincy of Terceira to Josuá van den Berge of Bruges. See also the Azorean inscription on Behaim's Globe of 1492, and a document of September 16, 1571, in the Archivo Nacional of the Torre do Tombo (gaveta 15, maço 16, no. 5) which contains the judgment in a law suit as to the succession to the commandership of Fayal. See also R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator*, pp. 239-244.